

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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Price Twopence.

AT THE ALBERT HALL: RED FLAG WAGGING AND REACTION.

"That this Mass Meeting of workers welcomes the fact that an opportunity to make a lasting and just peace now appears at hand, and demands for organised labour an effective voice in the peace negotiations. We support as a basis for the settlement the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson and endorsed by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech to the American troops on July 5th."

"We also demand that those responsible for crimes committed against humanity and international law shall be brought to the bar of justice; that full reparation and compensation shall be paid for injury to life and property on sea and land."

"We further demand the repeal of conscription and the restoration of civil liberties."

Within the four corners of that resolution the capitalists can secure all the annexations, concessions, tariffs, and boycott regulations that they desire. They have only to describe the loot as "reparation and compensation" to bring it within these terms.

Since that resolution held the field all the red-flag wagging and revolution-talk at the Albert Hall meeting was mere window dressing. "Come to the meeting and sing rebel songs: you must create the atmosphere." So the Socialist rank and file were told; but what did that saying really amount to? Simply this: "You come along and do the shouting; whilst we, the big men, form the policy." Then, having adopted a feeble imitation of capitalist policy, which the Government is only able to recognise from its own because of its lack of vitality, the big men endeavour to bluff the Government by saying: "Unless you do as we say our followers will be angry." The Government can be quite sure of retaining the support of men like Thomas and Henderson, or, at any rate, of disarming their serious opposition, by assuring them that it is taking their advice and by wrapping up its action in democratic phrases. And, even if the Government merely flouts Mr. Thomas and Mr. Henderson, it will go no further than a little bluffing. In spite of such revelations as the secret treaties they have adhered to the Government during the War. At the Albert Hall Mr. Thomas admits that in the South African War there was the same bitterness and hatred against the Boers as there now is against the Germans, "but a wise Government said: No, now we have conquered you we will endeavour to be just." The German militarists would have been so very pleased to be able to say that to us! Mr. Thomas forgot that the British Capitalists who were interested in gold and diamond mining had obtained what they wanted before there was any question of a South African constitution!

Those who had invited the Red-Flaggers to come to the meeting and create the atmosphere seemed at times as anxious to damp down their enthusiasm as Thomas himself. They taunted those who objected to the resolution with not having created the Revolution; whilst Thomas taunted them with not having voted Labour at the ballot box. Those Red-Flaggers at the meeting have each doubtless done at least as much for the Revolution as any of the speakers on the platform, and if they have votes they have doubtless voted Labour at the polls—disappointing, grievously disappointing, though the so-called Labour men in Parliament have been. But though the Red-Flaggers were in a majority at the Albert Hall they have been

hitherto in a small minority outside. What is the use of taunting them with that?

The Red Flaggers were lectured at and frowned at by the speakers on the Albert Hall platform; but what is the indictment which the Red-Flaggers have to bring against the speakers? It is that those big men are either—like Thomas—clinging to the skirts of capitalist policy, and incidentally drawing the cheap popularity and the big crowds brought by the newspaper publicity given to them because of their subservient methods; or, whilst refusing to support the War—as Thomas does—they are clinging to the skirts of men like Thomas, in order to gain a share of the big crowds Thomas and his kind can draw. These men sneer at the Red-Flaggers for not being able to create a big movement, though they themselves have failed to create such a movement and, despising the cheers of hundreds, are obliged to join with the Thomases and Hendersons in order to hear the cheers of thousands. These gaseous revolutionaries despise and boycott the efforts of the Red-Flaggers instead of helping to make them bigger. Whilst it was all hands to the pump for the Thomas meeting, with its reactionary resolution, the John McClean demonstration was ignored and, owing to the rain—the excuse of the apathetic—and the rush to the Albert Hall, it had to be postponed.

As for the rank and file; even a big proportion of those who yelled "Revolution!" and cheered the Red Flag on last Sunday are too prone to wait for Thomas and an Albert Hall meeting to express themselves.

Some of us wanted to move this amendment to the official resolution:—

This meeting demands peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies. This meeting hails the Russian Bolsheviks and the world-wide Workers' Revolution.

We could not catch the Chairman's eye, or make our voices heard above the hubbub; but undoubtedly that amendment better represented the spirit of the meeting than the official resolution. There were many cries of: "We want an amendment" from various parts of the hall at various points in the meeting; and if the Chairman had not rushed the vote at the moment when every one was expecting him to call on Ramsay MacDonald, he would have been faced with a more determined call for an amendment.

"We want revolution" was the dominating note of the meeting. But we ask our friends to realise that they will never get it from the Thomases of the Labour world. Cramp and Foot, who made revolutionary speeches, were obviously out of sympathy with the resolution, which we understand was forced upon the meeting by the refusal of Thomas to speak to any other. But is the N.U.R. a democratic body, or is it ruled by one man? Is it not strong enough to run an Albert Hall meeting according to the will and policy of the majority? And were it not better to refrain from holding an Albert Hall meeting at all, than to commit the Union to a reactionary policy in order to do so?

What was it Thomas had to say? Firstly, he wanted to hold the Allied Governments to President Wilson's peace terms. Secondly, he said that the railwaymen are asking him to sanction their refusal to carry members of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, unless that union withdraws its refusal to carry Labour delegates who wish to discuss peace and to participate in Allied peace talk. Mr. Thomas added that he had been asked to sanction the boycott of newspapers that advocate the Seamen's boycott, and pointed out that this boycott by the railwaymen would be an effective weapon in the war between Capital and Labour.

"Why don't you do it? Why don't you do it?" cried the Albert Hall Red-Flaggers. But Mr. Thomas answers: "Oh, no! it would lead to chaos." Still he says that he and Henderson will agree to it, if the Labour movement as a whole tells them to, in the matter of sending Labour delegates to an Allied peace conference. Meanwhile, be it observed, the Allied terms are being arranged, and by the time the Labour Movement has decided to retaliate against the Seamen there will be nothing further to discuss!

Mr. Thomas further said that he wants the armistice to be such that the War could not be re-started. That means an armistice which will place the Allies in a position to take anything they may choose. After that what is the use of men like Thomas endeavouring to put a brake on Allied policy. Thomas and his kind usually agree with the Government in what it is doing to-day, pompously warning it that they may disagree to-morrow.

Oh! Socialist Red-Flaggers of the rank and file, when will you cease to cling to men who are not Socialists and to men who, if they are Socialists, have faith neither in you nor in the coming of Socialism in our time?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PEACE TERMS.

Branches should pass resolutions demanding immediate peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies; also facilities for holding an international Socialist and Labour Conference. See that all the other organisations you are connected with also adopt this policy!

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS EDUCATION.

This pamphlet by Eden and Cedar Paul reprinted from articles in THE DREADNOUGHT should be bought and sold to others by every W.S.F. member. Price 6d.

LABOUR AND THE COALITION.

The Times reports that there is a growing movement in Liberal and Tory circles to maintain the coalition Government after the war during the reconstruction period. If this is done it will but make plainer to the workers the fact that capitalism is the greatest enemy of the workers. It is said that the Labour Party is calling a conference to decide whether it will go to the country as part of the Coalition. The last Labour Party Conference decided to end the political truce as far as by-elections are concerned. This decision was precipitated by the fact that the local constituency organisations were fighting by-elections in defiance of the Executive. The logical development of the by-election resolution is to fight the Government at the General Election. To remain in the Coalition would be political suicide for the Labour Party. Nevertheless, Messrs. Clynes, Barnes and Roberts will doubtless advocate remaining in the Coalition, but we do not think that the conference will agree. Even Mr. Henderson is surely committed to independence of the Coalition as soon as the war ends!

HOUSING AND INFLUENZA.

Three hundred thousand new houses would not meet the legal requirements against over crowding, yet though there has been much talk of after-war housing reconstruction, the Local Government Board admits that only schemes for 8,726 new houses are definitely before the Board. The Times Medical correspondent is meanwhile warning the public that the insanitary house is the dangerous house for influenza, septic pneumonia, which has been following influenza, and for all diseases. The Times quotes a sanitary engineer, Mr. H. C. H. Shenton, who says that the sewers leading from a number of London houses are leaky and that the drinking water may be contaminated. In South Poplar during heavy rains sewage is known to flow from the main drain into the houses with hideous results.

AN ANSWER TO THE ECKINGTON BENCH.

A very big meeting for Creswell was held on a piece of co-operative ground on Saturday afternoon, November 2nd, to discuss Sylvia Pankhurst's trial under D.O.R.A. and the fine of £50 and £8 12s. costs imposed upon her, with the alternative of three months imprisonment. Will Godfrey took the chair. Spencer, the Treasurer of the Derbyshire Miners' Association moved a resolution protesting against the refusal of the adjournment and the sentence. Reuben Shelton of the Creswell S.L.P.; Murray, President of the Sheffield Trades Council and one of the four Labour Parliamentary candidates for Sheffield; and Stephen Green of Clowne also spoke to the resolution, which was carried unanimously. Sylvia Pankhurst arrived late, and as she approached she was hooted by half-a-dozen young wounded soldiers, but as soon as she began to speak these young men listened quietly. Questions were asked for and an offer of the platform was made to any who desired to oppose, but no questions were forthcoming and no dissentient voice was raised. A collection of £5 6s. was taken and a large number of DREADNOUGHTS was sold. The local comrades announced that they were determined not to let Miss Pankhurst go to prison and were collecting for her fine. Mr. Murray stated the publicity obtained in the press had been worth much more than £50.

A CRITICISM.

The report of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's trial and her article upon it seems to me so typical an example of the distortion which a one-sided view is apt to engender that it calls for comment.

My criticism of the offending speech is that from it one would gather that no idealism has animated anybody responsible for our part in this war. That is not true. We may think, I do, that no responsible person is in a position to say they have shown the courage they ought to have done in fighting the colossal evils of the war, and certainly they have not fought as they might have done the evils of wrong and stupid selfishness which lie at the root of all bitter strife; but that criticism stops far short of suggesting that everyone in a position of responsibility has behaved always in a blackguardly way. The war had its origin in the evils of capitalism, but it has not been "absolutely a capitalist war."

Capitalism and capitalists have behaved foully, but it has not been only "a sordid scramble between two rival groups of capitalists who were struggling to get control of the world's raw materials." Why retard our fight against evils by exaggeration? Many who are absolutely convinced of and loathe the mess that the world has got into are prevented from seriously considering the way out by means of such things as Bolshevik ideals, because the knowledge of such ideals is only obtainable in papers which reflect the bitterness and excess which have unfortunately had their counterpart in many actions for which the Bolsheviks must be held responsible.

As thought precedes the written word so the written word usually precedes action, and if excess is indulged in in the former we are courting the danger of excess in the latter. We shall win through more quickly, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, if only you and those splendidly unselfish like you infuse a little more of "sweet reasonableness" into your teaching.

J. EDWARD FRANCIS.

[Mr. Francis has judged the speech in question on the paragraph of which the prosecution complained, not on the speech as a whole, which occupied more than one hour. Moreover he forgets that the praises of those who are supposed to be "winning the war" and praise of the war itself occupy so much type and paper daily that the little "Dreadnought" does not feel justified in using its space for that purpose.—Ed. W. D.]

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS
(FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR WIVES
AND RELATIVES.)

This League is arranging an Old Age Pensions Deputation to the House of Commons on Wednesday, November 13th. Meet at the Strangers' entrance opposite St. Margaret's Church at 2.30 p.m. The deputation will ask that the Old Age Pension should immediately be raised to 15s. a week at 60 years of age.

JOHN MACLEAN.

Mrs. Agnes Maclean sends the following letter, which speaks louder than any comment of ours:—

"I think it desirable to inform you that I was allowed to see my husband, John Maclean, for the

first time since his trial, in Peterhead Prison, on Tuesday, 22nd inst, and he then stated to me that he has been hunger-striking, and has been forcibly fed since July. He found the food that was sent in unsatisfactory, and refused to take it or the prison food (which he believed to be drugged), requesting to be transferred to Glasgow, where he could have food prepared by myself sent in.

"He told me that he tried to resist the forcible feeding by mouth tube, but two warders held him down, and that these men never left him thereafter, night or day, till he was forced to give in. I was shocked beyond measure by these statements (made to me in presence of the prison doctor and two warders), and by the evidence of their truth supplied by his aged and haggard appearance. They contradict entirely the assurances given to me and his other friends by the Authorities that he was in good health.

"One thing is clear—that he cannot much longer endure the torture of body and mind to which he is daily being subjected. The only alternatives in the conflict between the Authorities and himself are—either his death in prison, or his immediate release from prison. From the former I believe they do not shrink, and every day brings it nearer.

"On the latter alternative I insist—and I appeal to you—in common with other friends of my husband and of the work he has done for humanity—to do all you can to help me to induce those who are keeping him in durance to set him free at once."

FROM THE MOTHERS' TRENCH.

"Mrs. B— has just come in and is terribly upset. Some man has come home from France and has told her that he saw her son lying in a pool badly wounded and when the man came back her son was gone. She cannot get any news from the War Office. She came to ask if you would telephone. It is pitiful to see poor Mrs. B—I can't do anything for her."

Mrs. Bell, a sailor's widow of Dorking, who has four children under twelve years, complains that though her husband was entitled to £50 on the completion of twenty years' service, the Admiralty refuses to pay her the money because her husband went down with his ship six days before the end of the term.

REVOLTING WOMAN IN THE NOVEL.

The Feminine in Fiction, by L. A. M. Priestly (Mrs. George McCracken). George Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d. net.

Mrs. McCracken has here endeavoured to show how the various aspects in the women's movement have been dealt with by British novelists. She gives some interesting extracts from a varied assortment of books, ranging from Nathaniel Hawthorne's 'Scarlet Letter', Thackeray's 'Esmond', and Meredith's 'Diana of the Crossways', to the 'Christian', by Sir Hall Caine. This last is an unfortunate choice and a poor companion to Thomas Hardy's 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles', a book that made a sensation in its day and undoubtedly opened the minds of large numbers of novel readers to some ideas that were new then to worldly-minded people. But Mrs. McCracken seems entirely to have missed the point of the book's argument. She says: "Tess stands a figure enshrined on the page of English literature to proclaim the cumulative and awful consequences of a young girl's betrayal." But surely it is obvious that Hardy meant to make people realise that Tess, after her adventure with Alec D'Urberville, was the same Tess as before, and that it was not her old misfortune but the conventional prejudices, by which Angel Clare was dominated, and his own narrow egotism, that destroyed, for the time being, his own happiness and brought further and greater disaster upon Tess.

Mrs. McCracken shows us graphically enough the slough of prejudice, through which for generations past women have been painfully journeying towards emancipation, but she herself has by no means altogether emerged from that slough. Moreover, she seems to be little impressed by the fact that women's subjection in marriage is mainly due to their economic dependence—a dependence which will remain, at least in part, in the majority of cases until the capitalist system is replaced by Socialism. The suffragette must grasp that fundamental truth before she can begin to understand the sexual problem, and she must awaken to the knowledge that only a very small minority of women belong to the class that has servants to wait upon it. The only proposal in the book for economic reform, as it affects the marriage relation, is that a certain fixed proportion of a man's income shall automatically pass to his wife. The labourer's wife who has the spending of her husband's wages would reply to this proposal that if it were carried out she would still be obliged to spend her husband's income, including the portion legally secured to her, precisely as she does to-day.

In discussing Grant Allen's 'Woman who Did' Mrs. McCracken refuses to face the problem squarely. She attributes the book to the wildness of delirium "consequent upon disorders in the social body," and whilst she superciliously pooch-pooches the ideas of Grant Allen's heroine who refused to enter the bonds of legal matrimony for the sake of other women, she substitutes nothing better. "The sequel" she says, "was natural and easily foreseen. Herminia had her way and her martyrdom. Alan died before her child was born...and neither the world nor its women were one bit better for her sacrifice." We cannot agree with Mrs. McCracken: Grant Allen's fancied 'Woman who Did' and many a real woman who has made a similar refusal, have done much to throw light into the dark places of marriage and the marriage laws, the economic position of women and the sex problem as a whole. Mrs. McCracken says "salvation does not lie in Heminia's solution—rather chaos and anarchy and a riot of unbridled passions." Is she so sure, so very sure of this? Is she so sure that men and women can only love well under legal contract? She continues: "Marriage embodies the purest and loftiest ideal that our sad, bad old earth has risen to conceive—the one man for the one woman to have and to hold in cherished fidelity till death do them part." "To have and to hold"—a strange choice of words this—"in fidelity," sealed and secured by the law and the fear of proceedings for Bigamy, Restitution of Conjugal Rights, Police Court Maintenance Orders, Judicial Separation orders, Divorce, and the menace of newspaper publicity and gossiping tongues. "It were wisdom then, not to raze the institution but to weed out its abuses." "It is a contract where so much is exacted on the one side, too little yielded on the other," says Mrs. McCracken. But let us be practical. What are her proposals? She adds: "Unfortunately marriage in the vast majority of cases, imposes upon the wife a species of household tasks, monotonous, irksome, unvalued, save in the omission, where high spirits, the concomitant of being agreeable, droop and fade."

Is Mrs. McCracken considering here the marriage of ill-paid wage-earners who form the vast majority of the population? Does she propose that the labourer shall hire a servant and also marry a wife? Living in Belfast where wages are appallingly low, she, of course, realises that his income cannot compass the double burden. What is her solution? Is it Socialism? Or does she simply suggest that the labourer's wife should go into a factory to earn a wage which she shall pay over to another woman

to care for her home and children. If the labourer's wife wants to do that, and can earn enough to pay for her own keep and sufficient to induce another woman to work for her, she can do it to-day: it is entirely her own affair.

But Mrs. McCracken may be, and probably is, thinking here only of the middle-class woman. If so, is she pleading for the middle-class woman to practise a middle-class business profession like her husband, and to hire a plebeian woman to do the housework and wash the children? Or does she want to burden the husband with keeping a household of servants and a wife to do as she pleases, and who in many cases will fancy she is ill because she has no responsible duties to occupy her? We are not much in sympathy with the typical hustling American business man, but we have often felt compunction for him seeing him small, nervous and harassed, sleeplessly, anxiously hunting dollars, and all but overshadowed by his big, over-dressed, extravagant, idle wife, who sometimes insists that her spiritual development necessitates that she shall have no children. Such husbands and wives are also found in this country; they are a growing product of the upper reaches of the capitalist system. Such wives imagine they are upholders of women's emancipation.

AN AUCTION MART EXPERIENCE.

For four years people have been led to believe that household commodities are scarce, and they have run from one shop to another for their purchases. There has been no boot polish in Sheffield for months, and yet, on my going to the Auction Mart, on Oct. 16, with the hope of giving my customers the chance of a tin of cheap boot polish, I was astonished. I got a shock. I was surprised to find out that the firm of Day & Martin was selling sixty thousand 3d. tins of boot polish packed in tins marked 1916. I myself in 1916 bought Day & Martin's 3d. tins of polish at 2s. per dozen, less 5 per cent. On October 15th they were actually sold at auction for 6s. 6d. per dozen.

Is it not time the working class producer woke up, and asked himself where all this polish has been during the interval, and why the Government has allowed this firm to hoard it for two years, and now to make hundreds of pounds of extra profit out of it, whilst the people are going without necessities? When will the people demand that a search be made of all the factories and stores that profess to serve the people's needs?

A. CARFORD.

[Is it not possible old labels were being used up?—J. E. Francis.]

WORKSHOP NOTES. By W. F. Watson.

DUNCAN GETS A DRESSING DOWN.

It is not generally known that C. Duncan, M.P., General Secretary of the Workers' Union, is still an ordinary member of the Marylebone Branch of the A.S.E. The members of this branch invited Duncan to justify his position as a member of the A.S.E. General Secretary of Workers' Union and President of the Police Union. Being anxious to meet the honourable member for Barrow I went along to hear him. In true Parliamentary style, Charles studiously avoided the particular subject he had been invited to discuss and gave instead a rambling incoherent speech on Amalgamation. After referring to the Shop Stewards' movement as anarchistic, he dealt with some of the difficulties in the way of amalgamation.

He asserted, that those who say that the officials are against amalgamation do not speak the truth, for when the Unions are amalgamated more and more officials will be required. As a matter of fact one of the greatest difficulties in the way of amalgamation is that there is no hall big enough to accommodate the enormous staff that would be required. And you know the state of the building trade just now. It is an immediate impossibility.

To bring forward the bad state of the building trade as an obstacle to amalgamation is exquisite and an excellent indication of Duncan's vast knowledge of industrial organisation. So he went on for an hour—The Whitley Report is good. Dudley Docker is a splendid business man. The Workers' Union gives quids for bobs! Engineers would get 10s. per week rise by amalgamation. It was a sorry exhibition marked by an entire absence of ideas or ideals and without understanding of working-class aspirations. Duncan's only conception of Trades Unionism is interpreted in £ s. d. He did say once that we must organise by class; but, when questioned as to whether he believed in Craft Unionism or Industrial Unionism, he replied: "Craft Unionism." Several questions were fired at him on his dual position. He was asked what he would do if members of A.S.E. were on strike and members of W.U. remained at work. He replied he would decide each case on its merits. He could not decide on unknown hypotheses.

When actual instances were quoted, he wriggled out by saying the A.S.E. men had not consulted the Workers' Union on those occasions.

Charlie was severely criticised in the discussion. We told him his outlook was narrow and mean and that he knew nothing about amalgamation and industrial organisation. We said that when the time comes for Duncan to choose whether he will definitely be on the side of the workers or the employers, we hope he will not choose the workers' side as we have no use for him because he has not sufficient ability. In his reply he advised us to go out and start a union of our own, he guaranteed we would not get 1,000 members: the fact that he had organised the W.U. was sufficient testimonial for Charles Duncan. We don't think Duncan will go to Marylebone Branch again. And we hope not. If his is a sample of the intellect of the Labour Party, the powers defend us from a Labour Government.

A LONDON DISTRICT COUNCIL OF SHOP STEWARDS AND WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

A further conference of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees in the London area took place in Chandos Hall on Saturday, October 26th, with Jack Tanner in the chair in place of H. Joy who was down with the 'Flu. There was a fair attendance some seven committees being represented and the discussion was extremely good, showing the need and desire for a co-ordinating body for the S.S. movement.

The River Thames Ship Building Committee is very active and the secretary, Walter Day, gave an interesting account of its progress. It was clearly stated of the Provisional Shop Stewards' Committee that the proposed Council was not intended to be a bureaucratic body, and that although it would certainly co-ordinate the activities of the various committees, each committee will be free to determine its own method of organisation. It was also stated that it was not intended to confine the council to any particular industry. The Railway men, Transport Workers, Bus workers, &c., are being asked to co-operate.

It was finally agreed to accept the recommendation of the previous conference that a London and District Council of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees be established.

A further conference to draw up the basis and constitution will be held at Chandos Hall (if possible) on Saturday, November 16th. At present there are

several different kinds of S.S. and Workers' Committees, each representing a certain degree of consciousness determined by local or trade conditions all aiming at control of industry; but often working at variance with each other. Therefore a co-ordinating body is essential. It is said that the ideas are so conflicting that they cannot be blended and that the co-ordinating body must of necessity be of a compromising nature. I do not share that view. The Co-ordinating body will have as its basic object organisation regardless of craft or sex, and bodies of a lesser degree of consciousness will be affiliated thereto. In the case of the B.S.P. and the Labour Party, we have a body with a high degree of consciousness linked up with a body with a lesser degree of consciousness. As a result the position of the B.S.P. is somewhat compromised. Will all S.S. and Workers Committees wishing to participate in this movement please communicate with me.

AIRCRAFT WOMEN WORKERS VERY ACTIVE.

At a mass meeting of Women Workers held in Hendon on October 22nd, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting of Women Workers employed at the Aircraft Manufacturing Co., Hendon, requests the Executive Committee of the N.F.W.W. to take steps necessary for the systematic organisation of the women workers in the district and that representations be made to the Engineering Employers' Federation with a view to establishing all firms in the district on a Trade Union basis, and we further pledge ourselves to use all means in our power to secure that end, both in our own shop and throughout the district."

A mass meeting of Women Workers, convened by the Provisional Shop Stewards' Committee, was held at the Holborn Hall on Wednesday, Oct. 23rd. Jack Tanner was in the chair, and Comrades W. F. Watson, Mrs. J. Holloway and H. Joy addressed the meeting. A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding a minimum rate of 10d. per hour for all women on aircraft work and equal pay for women doing the same work as men. A further resolution was adopted urging the Provisional Shop Stewards' Committee to press the resolution through the Trade Union movement. Beyond a doubt the women workers are awakening and will be a live force in the industrial world. The men in the movement must render every possible assistance to the women in order to eliminate all tendencies towards sex antagonism.

LABOUR MOVEMENT IN GREECE.

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The improvement in the methods of production effected in Greece during the last ten years has aroused the class conscience of the workers in Greece. The lessons of the Balkan wars have greatly helped to make International Socialism gradually welcome to the whole Labour Movement. But in Greece, as everywhere else, the world-war turned the minds of the wage-earners from the true issues of their struggle. Up to the time of the victory of the present Government they were with few exceptions, under "arrivist" trade-union leaders, who adapted their policy to the prevailing political conditions. During that unsettled period only the few Socialist organisations kept advancing along the path of International Socialism, a true organ of which is the weekly *Ergaticos Agon* (Labour Struggle) of Athens.

The present Government, encouraged by the results of its Labour legislation (administered by bourgeois), soon after its advent to power, tried to take the various trade unions into its confidence, for two reasons: firstly, the influence which they supposed Labour in the Allied countries might have in the final settlement, especially in regard to the self-determination of nationalities, could assist the success of the nationalist policy of Greece, if delegates of the organised workers of Greece were heard at the Inter-Allied Labour Conferences.

No objection was therefore raised to the organisation of the proletariat, but meanwhile every care was taken to place at the Government's service "Labour leaders," who, under false Socialist colours, would see to it that the whole Labour Movement should identify itself with the Government's policy. The policy of thus regulating the leadership would thrust into the background the

class struggle and destroy all the work of the Socialist organisations.

With these facts in mind, I read the news from Greece that a First Pan-Helladic Labour Congress was to be held on October 14th, with a view to forming a Pan-Helladic Confederation of Labour. Notwithstanding the facilities afforded by the ruling class to the reactionary factors, which will certainly try to influence the decisions of the Congress, it is clear, even to a distant observer, that the few, but strong, militant Socialists will put up a determined fight; and, although they are working under very difficult conditions, will very probably succeed in propagating sane ideas and a pure class spirit. It is a hopeful sign that a few Socialists are amongst those elected to prepare the work for this first Congress. The Socialist Federation of Salonica and the Socialist organisations of Athens and Piraeus stand out as the bodies that will contribute most in that direction. Thus two opposing forces, the Government and the Socialists are both to secure the organisation of the workers, though for entirely different standpoints.

I have also the good news that a Pan-Helladic Socialist Conference was to take place on October 23rd. It would aim at effecting the formation of a Greek Socialist Party, to which all the various Socialist organisations will be affiliated. The Party will then take the necessary steps to be recognised by the International Socialist Bureau to which, up to the present, only one Greek society, the Federation of Salonica, is affiliated.

The whole movement appears to be taking a good course; but to form a clearer judgment we shall have to wait for the resolutions of both Congresses. They should be very interesting, since the Balkan proletariat is now entering upon a new sphere of activities which cannot but lead,

sooner or later, to the Confederation of the Balkan Peoples.

THEO. PAPADIMITRIOU.

NOW READY.

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CENTRAL LONDON W.S.F.

A LECTURE by SYLVIA PANKHURST,

At Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand,
On THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14th, at 7.30 p.m.

Chair—DAVID RAMSAY.

Tickets 6d. each.

Questions and Discussion.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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REVOLUTION SPREADS TO THE CENTRAL EMPIRES.

The long-predicted Revolution in the Central Empires seems to be well launched. Three movements are there warring for supremacy: the Socialist movement of the workers, the capitalists, and those who are animated by purely racial sentiments; the two latter sections largely coalesce in opposition to the first.

BULGARIA.

In Bulgaria the Tsar Boris, who so recently succeeded his father Ferdinand, has abdicated. It is reported that a Republic has been established with a peasants' Government, under the leadership of Stambulsky, who is backed by an army of 40,000 men. The Peasants' Party, of which Stambulsky is a leader, in 1913 joined the Socialists in demanding an independent Confederation of Balkan Republics and the dismissal of the diplomatists in office during the Balkan War; but till fuller information comes through we should not be justified in assuming that the Socialists have yet come to power in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, we believe that they will shortly control Bulgaria as they now control Russia. We believe that the Bulgarian Government was brought to surrender to the Allies by fear of popular revolution. It seems that the revolution was but postponed.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In Austria-Hungary the subject nationalities are claiming their independence. The Galician Poles have wiped out the frontier dividing them from Poland and have established a Polish Government in Galicia. The Italians in Austrian territory have proclaimed their unity with Italy, and some of the members by whom they were represented in the Austrian Parliament have actually gone to Switzerland to discuss the terms which are to be imposed upon Austria-Hungary by the Allies. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina announce that those provinces are now a part of Serbia. The Bohemians, the Croats, and the rest have taken up arms to secure independence. On the other hand, the German people of Austria are also endeavouring to form a separate nation (perhaps eventually to be joined to Germany) and have notified President Wilson of their existence as a separate state, German-Austria, demanding admission, as such, to the Peace Conference. All the separate nationalities are setting up their governments, and these appear to be republican, with at least a pretence of ushering in a democratic era.

The racial upheaval is undoubtedly an enormous force in Austria, but the social upheaval affecting all races is much greater. Socialists and reformists are struggling for the supremacy of their ideals. The proceedings in German-Austria precisely echo those which took place in the early stages of the Russian Revolution. We hear of a Soldiers' and Officers' Council and a Workers' and Soldiers' Council; rivals, no doubt: the first reformist, with its roots in capitalism; the second Socialist and animated with the Bolshevik spirit.

The army seems to have seized the seats of Government, a Republic to have been proclaimed, and a National Council formed to draw up a republican constitution and to carry on the business of government meanwhile. The Emperor Charles was said to have fled; now it is announced that he

abdicates, not because the people dismiss him, but because he refuses to accept the terms of the Allies.

In the new National Government a Coalition Government is being set up, into which Victor Adler, the Majority Socialist leader, enters as Foreign Minister—an important post—and his colleague Renner joins as Minister of Social Affairs. Austrian Majority Socialists have been truer to Socialist principles than the Majority Parties of other countries. Nevertheless, they still, we think, belong to the old Liberal-Reformist school, which has no clear faith in the actual establishment of Socialism and cannot cut itself adrift from capitalist ways. In any case the real revolutionary Socialist will never enter a capitalist coalition. We know, quite surely, that this coalition will pass and other leaders of Socialism will arise to fit the times. Perhaps Fritz Adler—reprieved from death some time ago—may come into prominence in the critical days ahead. It is reported that hitherto unknown Socialists are taking an active part in the struggle. *The Times* of November 4th reports:—

"As a result of the discussion representatives of the State Council yesterday visited various barracks in Vienna to negotiate with soldiers' representatives the formation of a National German Army."

"The German-Austrian State Council has issued a proclamation addressed to the soldiers at the front, saying that the National Assembly has taken over the Government and will immediately conclude peace. The proclamation appeals to them to maintain order and discipline and to prevent plundering and acts of violence. 'An orderly demobilisation,' it adds, 'will immediately be begun.' A similar proclamation has been addressed to the garrison of Vienna."

"Dispatches from Vienna relate the following incidents: A procession of 400 soldiers from Grinzing war hospital proceeded on Thursday afternoon to the Parliament Buildings and communicated their desires and grievances to Herr Seitz, president of the State Council. Thence the procession went to the War Ministry, where it was dispersed by guards. Small crowds gathered before the War Ministry at 8 p.m."

"At the constituent meeting of the Soldiers' Council in Vienna a soldier suddenly rose to oppose the proposed formation of a National Guard, and proposed the establishment of a Red Guard. The soldier with his followers then formed a soldiers' council of their own, and the former left the hall as commander of the Red Guards amidst protests, the Nationalists remaining behind."

This reads like a page from the story of the Russian Revolution. There, too, the Bolsheviks, left the Coalition Assembly!

We watch with impatience and sympathy the swiftly-moving struggle.

In Hungary the same movements develop and rush on with even greater intensity. The Korolyi administration is useless from the Socialist point of view; but this stage will pass, as it passed in Russia. Karolyi is the Rodzianko of Austria; we must look for the Milyukoff, the Kerensky, and the Lenin! Karolyi has promised universal suffrage for all men over 24, for all soldiers, and for women who can read and write—in that he is a trifle more generous to women than the Lloyd George Government. He announces that his government will begin by restoring order. We know that it will fail!

REVOLUTION COMING IN GERMANY.

In Germany, too, revolution is undoubtedly drawing nearer. The South German States are seized with the fear of the Allied invasion which is likely to be made through Austrian territory now that Austria has concluded an armistice; and leaflets are being distributed in Bavaria urging that a separate peace should be made by a new "Peoples' Government." A Socialist Republic is demanded.

Arthur Ransome reports from Stockholm that Scheidemann and his fellow Majority Socialists are discredited and that the coalition of which they are a part will be short-lived. Also that leaflets calling for an amnesty and for the establishment of Soviets, of like tendency to the leaflets which were used by the Bolsheviks prior to their triumph, are being distributed in Berlin; and of course, it is said, and perhaps with truth, that the Russians are helping in this propaganda. No foreign effort can produce a revolution however, it can only come to birth as a native product.

Meanwhile the demands that the Kaiser shall abdicate are not allayed by his proclamation promising to co-operate in the democratisation of Germany, and the question is to be decided at a

meeting of the Reichstag parties. How are the mighty fallen! But Germany is indeed wonderful in her elasticity! Scheidemann presses for the abdication. A proclamation by the Majority Socialists urges the workers not to respond to a summons to leave work during the next few days. It is the beginning of the Revolution. As it was in Russia so it is in Germany!

THE ARMISTICE TERMS.

Meanwhile armistice terms are said to have been offered to Germany, but the terms are not disclosed and apparently the German reply has not been made. Harsh and humiliating terms were announced, but the British Government repudiate them. Has it made Germany an offer, or is it delaying in order first to win a spectacular victory? Meanwhile the casualty lists are mounting steadily and the poor fellows on all fronts are suffering injuries that can never be redressed.

The Austrian armistice has been concluded, but at the time of going to press the terms are not announced.

The terms of the Turkish armistice are, however, announced; at least, in part, for there have been rumours of a secret understanding which has been denied by Lord Robert Cecil. The main points of the published terms are that the Turkish army is to be demobilised "except such troops as are required for the surveillance of the frontiers and the maintenance of internal order"; Turkish ships to be interned at such Turkish ports as the Allies direct. The Allies are to occupy "any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies." The Allies to use any ports they please: to control wireless telegraph and cable stations, "Turkish Government messages excepted"; to have facilities to buy coal, oil, fuel, &c., which are not to be exported. Allied control officers to be placed on railways.

All these provisions can be enforced as the Allies please, but they are set forth with a suggestion of consideration towards the Turks which we failed to see in the conditions imposed on Bulgaria.

TRANSCAUCASIA?

Turkey is to evacuate Persia; that is natural. Part of Transcaucasia has been evacuated; "the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies, after they have studied the situation there." How is this? Transcaucasia belongs to Russia. Surely Turkey should be asked to withdraw. There is some mystery here. Is Turkey to keep Transcaucasia or to help in fighting the Bolsheviks, we want to know? The Allies are to occupy Batoum and Baku—both Russian ports in the Caucasus. This is ominous. An article in *The Times* speaks of the ease with which the Allies will be able to get from the Bosphorus—which they will also occupy—to Odessa, another important Russian port and a distance by sea of only 340 miles. The surrender of Turkey is undoubtedly a menace to the Bolsheviks.

For the rest the following paragraph from *The Manchester Guardian* is illuminating:—

"Commenting on the Turkish armistice, Paris papers say that vast and rich regions will now be exploited, with the help of friendly peoples, under the economic and political protectorate of the Allied Powers.—Exchange."

SUBJECT NATIONS SOLD?

The Manchester Guardian makes some very striking allegations in regard to bargaining with Turkey. It says:—

"The Allies began their operations against Turkey by secretly selling the oppressed peoples as if they were cattle. Have we closed and sealed our operations against the Turks by again secretly selling the oppressed peoples as if they were cattle?"

In regard to the armistice the writer of *The Manchester Guardian* London letter says:—

"The negotiations were conducted with the British Vice-Admiral at Mudros through the mediation of General Townsend, and there is reason to believe that the final agreement did not secure the enthusiastic approval of all the Allied Governments."

"One effect of the agreement is to put a British force and a British authority first into Constantinople and the Straits and in supreme control over these places of such strategic and political importance. Had the occupation come from the land instead of from the sea, the first forces to arrive would have been a part of the Allied Balkan army and the supreme authority would have been French. That is not an altogether negligible feature of the armistice."

Continued on page 1114.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE WAR ENDING.

As for the ending of the War: the stronger combination has, as usual, vanquished the weaker, and the long purse has won, as it always does. We are not surprised; we expected this result from the day War was declared. As the War began so it will end, so far as the capitalist politicians in power are concerned. Sir R. Cooper asked in the House of Commons if Mr. Bonar Law intended to take steps to secure that any agreement for peace should in general principles be in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the members of this House, and, if so, could he say what those steps would be. Mr. Bonar Law answered:—

"The Government must, I think, be the interpreter of the views of the House and the nation in this matter."

Sir R. Cooper.—Is it a fact that the country will be committed to a secret peace agreement?

Mr. Bonar Law.—I do not know what my hon. friend means. I do not suppose he means that the terms of peace should be put as a referendum, and I know of no other way in which the country could be represented except by its Government.

Take a Referendum, gentlemen, of the Government, and, if you dare, let D.O.R.A. be set aside and all the facts made public. We eagerly desire the opportunity; do you?

A Social Democratic member of the Danish Rigsdag urged that the article in the Constitution giving the King the right to declare war should be changed. The Minister of State replied that the King would not oppose the change.

POST OFFICE WOMEN.

Post Office rates of pay are by no means generous. The maximum wage of women telegraphists, counter clerks and telephonists has hitherto been 28s. a week and before the war only just over one telephonist in a hundred was receiving so much. An increase of 3s. for telephonists and 1s. a week for telegraphists and counter clerks has just been granted.

KNIGHTS OF THE NEW CRUSADE.

Bottomley: "An indemnity of £10,000,000,000. Germany has a large number of lusty fellows who can work for us in the time to come. [These "lusty fellows" sent a donation to East End dockers on strike against Lord Devonport and the Port of London authority.] I regret the German taint in our Court, our Privy Council and Government departments. It is only fair to the King to say that His Majesty is doing his best to obliterate it."

Lord Beresford: "Let this nation invite the American nation to help us to command and police the seas. [What about world dominion?] The whole of the German fleet should be....sunk."

Havelock Wilson: "We must take the mercantile marine of Germany."

VOTE CATCHING IN EAST FIFE.

"We have also a new and to some extent an incalculable element—the ladies, who, I hope, in the spirit of magnanimity which is characteristic of their sex, will let bygones be bygones, and allow me to tender, with diffidence, but still with hope, the hand of welcome."—Mr. Asquith, November 2nd, 1918.

NORTHCLIFFE IN PARIS.

Henderson and Huysmans have failed to get to Paris, but Northcliffe is there!

ANOTHER LIE NAILED!

It was widely reported that Marie Spiridonova had been shot by the Bolsheviks. Mr. Lockhart, who has been acting British Consul-General in Moscow reports that he met her in prison!

CARING FOR THE SOLDIERS' CHILDREN.

The National News has organised a boot fund for soldiers' children. It publishes extracts from the letters of soldiers' wives:—

"My children have to go without food so that I can buy them second-hand boots, and then they only last a week or so."—(Bethnal Green.)

"Four of my children are away from school because they have no boots."—(S. Wales.)

But surely it is the duty of the Government which insists on fighting the war to a finish to provide the soldiers' wives and widows with the wherewithal to buy their children's boots! Why does not *The National News* ask Mr. Lloyd George to attend to the matter?

POST OFFICE PETTINESS.

As the War Office increases the separation allowance of soldiers' wives and relatives, the Postmaster-General deducts a like sum from the balance of wages, which is paid by the Post Office to the dependents of postal employees in the Army. Thus what is given by one Government department is taken away by another. Disabled men who are postal workers have the amount of their Army pension deducted from their wages during any illness caused by their disability and occurring within one month of resuming work. Such cheese-paring meannesses by a Government department with unlimited money to spend, illustrate the need for the control of industry by the workers concerned.

BELGIAN PROFITEERS.

When it became known that the Germans have agreed to evacuate Belgium profiteers unloaded such enormous hoards of stores of meat, butter, and fats that the stuff was sold at pre-war rates. The Belgian people have been suffering from tubercular glands and other ills for lack of these very things!

WORTH IT!

A. J. Marriott of Reading writes: "I read the report of Miss Pankhurst's case in *The Daily Telegraph* and resolved to send a £1 for your funds, as I considered the repetition of the facts brought out in Miss Pankhurst's case, in a paper with such an enormous circulation as *The Telegraph*, well worth the £50 fine. The thing that astonishes me about our tyrants is that the lesson from Russia has no effect on them."

THE INTERNATIONAL.

SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Social Democratic Party will hold its next Congress from October 31st to November 3rd, says *the Populaire*.

URGENT WORK.

Paul Graber, a Socialist and anti-militarist member of the Swiss National Council, publishes an article under the above title in the *Populaire de Paris*. He urges all Socialists to work for a speedy peace. With regard to Russia he says: "We must act and profit by this circumstance [the Central Powers being confronted with difficulties at home and abroad] not only because thus we should work for peace but also for the good of the Soviet Republic."

ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

The Special Correspondent of the *Populaire de Paris* wires from Zurich that the Russian Soviet Republic is preparing to celebrate its first anniversary on November 6th, the date when the Kerensky regime was thrown over. The organisation of the fete has been entrusted to the Moscow Section of the Soviet Society of Plastic Arts. The celebration is to last several days. On the first day of the celebrations a monument to Socialism is to be unveiled. In the Red Square [Petrograd] a stone will be put up to honour the memory of those who died for Socialism. At the same time a large work is to be published entitled, 'A Year of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' Comrades Bukharin, Kamenev and Pokrovsky are to edit the work. It will contain articles by Lenin, Bella Kun, Radek, Professor Reissner, Stalin, and others.

SERBIAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR.

Comrade Doushen Popovich, Secretary of the Serbian Socialist Party, publishes a long article in the *Populaire de Paris*. He says that right from the beginning of the world-war all sections of the Serbian Labour movement took up a hostile attitude towards the war because they thought that by trying to bring about peace they were best serving the International.

"But what about our country having been attacked?" says Popovich. "Well, we have not overlooked this fact. But there are two means of defending one's fatherland. One is to vote the war credits and to finance the War. The result is that Socialists joined their bourgeoisie and destroyed the

International, which can operate only if all the affiliated parties adopt a common course of action....

"Fortunately, Socialism is not dead. At the time when Socialism seemed to fare badly, when the Workers' International appeared to be but a vision—the Russian Revolution broke loose that which is a magnificent affirmation of the Internationalist faith of Socialism."

"We Serbian Socialists want to see every people freed but it must be the work of the peoples themselves, that is to say a consequence of the revolutionary action of the international proletariat. The War will not achieve anything in that direction. This is why we sympathise with those who oppose the War everywhere. This is why we greeted the Russian Revolution which was a revolution against the War and in favour of peace. The Russian Revolution has become the rallying point for all those Socialists who strive after a new International. This is why we approved of the Stockholm Conference. This is why we are ready to support every political movement which will strive for peace for the nations."

We understand that Comrade Popovich lies dangerously ill at a London hospital. We wish him a speedy recovery so that he may help with the work of building up the Third International. A. S.

REAL WAGES AND NOMINAL WAGES.

6, Sackville Street,
Reading.

DEAR EDITOR.—I cannot understand why Socialists should encourage strikes for increases of money wages to meet the extra cost of living. It has been shown that only powerful Labour organisations can succeed in obtaining them; and that only at the expense of those who do not get an advance. There is only one way to benefit the workers as a whole; that is to lower the price of commodities. I believe the Government could do that by firm dealing with the profiteers. Possibly peace alone can satisfactorily ease the situation. If the War is to go on, suffering is inevitable. All that can be demanded is that the suffering be made as equal as possible.

I cannot understand why labour should not have made a detailed list of things that should go to make a satisfactory peace. The Labour War Aims Manifesto contains only generalities, and although Henderson has protested against a sliding scale Peace nothing has been done to prevent it.

Victory now appears in sight for the Allies. But if we allow our Imperialists and militarists their own free will to increase our future responsibilities Conscription will be forced on us for ever of necessity. —Yours, &c., A. J. MARRIOTT.

"Wonderful good fortune enabled the island power to conduct a magnificent struggle for the mastery of the seas under such favourable circumstances, that England seemed at first to be defending the European balance of power, and subsequently to be fighting on behalf of the general freedom of the nations."—Treitschke, 'History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.' The quotation refers to the days when Lord Palmerstone was Foreign Secretary.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Countess of Warwick, £25; sale of tickets per Miss Casey, £10 11s. 7½d.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £4; Mrs. Marshall, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker, £4 2s.; Miss Price, £2 8s. 4d.; Poplar Club, 6s.

COCKNEY FAIR.—Dr. E. Bramley Moore, £1; Mrs. F. E. Rowe, £1; W. Carter, Esq., 10s.; Mrs. C. Clarke, 10s.; Miss Violet Causton, 5s.; Mr. H. Morris, 5s.; Miss Lillie Perkins, 2s.

SOCIAL WORK.—Poplar Garden Fete Committee, £10; Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown (20s. weekly), £8; per Miss Udney, £5 17s.; Profit on Nursery Social, £4 14s. 8d.; per Mrs. W. Sinclair, £3; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £2; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15s.; Mrs. Richmond (10s. fortnightly), £1; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1; Contessa Isolani (monthly), £1; Mrs. Ayrton, £1; Mrs. E. A. Fielder, 17s. 9d.; London Fields Adult School, 13s.; Miss Burgess (sale of clothes), 12s.; Mr. A. Potter, 7s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Miss J. T. Drewry, 5s.; Mary F. Melling, 5s.; Miss W. Turner (monthly), 4s. 6d.; H. M. Gunn, 2s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Miss Symonds (quarterly), 2s. 6d.; S. M. Dodington, 2s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Toolroom, £4 18s. 0½d.; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Greens' Yard), £1 11s. 10½d.

Friends are asked to send all orders for the "Dreadnought" to 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4; otherwise prompt attention cannot be guaranteed.

REVOLUTION SPREADS TO THE CENTRAL EMPIRES—(Continued from Page 1112).

"But I find a strong belief that, side by side with the military arrangements, certain political assurances were given the Turks. Their exact nature is not revealed, but I should guess that they were something of this kind: The preservation of Turkish rule over Armenia, and the maintenance of perhaps nominal Turkish sovereignty over Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. Obviously pledges of such a character would be fatal to Armenian national hopes and gravely injurious to those of the Jews and Arabs. It should also be recalled that, in the secret treaty concluded in 1915, France was promised a large slice of Armenia. That would be an additional reason for the rumour that France is far from pleased with what has just been done.

"If these speculations are correct there would be the further temptation to compensate France at the expense of the Jews in Palestine and the Arabs in Syria."

Oh, for the end of this sorry bargaining: and of the capitalist system to which it belongs!

JAPAN'S SHARE OF THE SPOILS.

The Japanese view on the position, as expressed by Marquis Okuma, is also illuminating:—

He says it is impossible to declare what will be the terms that Japan will demand at the peace conference.

In view of the fact that Japan holds a very important position in the Far East, our claims must be settled in a way satisfactory to Japan at all costs.

1. Though we have a voice in questions affecting the Western front, the Balkans and the African Colonies, these do not direct the relations of Japan, and we ought to support England, France, and America in these questions.

2. Questions relating to the future of Germany and Russia should be decided in concert with the Allies with a view to the future perpetuation of the world peace.

3. Questions of an indemnity should be decided by a conference of the Allies.

4. The disposition of Samoa should be left to Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of abolishing the German base in the Pacific.

5. Australia will hold New Guinea.

6. The Marshall, Caroline, and Ladrone Islands, which the Japanese occupy, are valueless to Japan, but dangerous in the hands of Germany. As there is no reason why they should be given to a third Power, Japan must continue in possession of them.

7. The telegraph connecting Tsingtau and the South Seas, now in control of the Japanese Navy, will be transferred to Japan. The Tsinan Railway should also be held by the Japanese, Germany purchasing it from the owners.

8. Japan should confer with the Allies regarding the maintenance of order in Siberia. In reference to questions of concessions and other interests in these regions, no Power should be allowed to have a paramount voice.

9. In the relations of China with other Powers, the principles of the open door and equal opportunity should be maintained as heretofore.

In view of all this Lord Northcliffe's statement that Germany will lose her Colonies and has forfeited the "right to help Russia." Northcliffe would have a boa-constrictor help a lamb, we suppose! Northcliffe's plan for re-making the map of Europe is said to be quite unofficial, but he is Minister of Information and appears to do anything he pleases with the War Cabinet.

The hypocrisy of the high falutin' talk of self-determination of peoples, in which the mighty now indulge, is exposed by the Russian Minister Tchicherin, who was interned for a time here in London. He says:—

"As a condition for an armistice, during which peace negotiations shall be begun, you have in your Note to Germany demanded the evacuation of the occupied territories. We are ready, Herr President, to conclude an armistice on this condition, and request you to inform us when you intend to withdraw your troops from Murmansk, Archangel, and Siberia."—Reuter.

The Peoples' Revolutions in Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, and Germany are coming to the aid of the Peoples' Revolution in Russia. From the first the Bolsheviks have called to the toiling masses of Europe to come to their aid, to join them in building a new world. In spite of the long and perilous waiting they have surely believed that their call would be answered. The answer comes and Labour wakes at last—after the long, long years of waiting in which even the pioneers have known despair.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

DEPUTATION TO HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On October 15th and 17th deputations numbering about 200 soldiers and sailors' wives and widows and mothers attended the House of Commons from Scotland, from Wimbledon, organised spontaneously by the women themselves, and from London W.S.F. Branches, organised by Miss Price. The Wimbledon women summed up their complaints and demands as follows:—

1. While the Government allows profiteering, the Army allowance is insufficient to properly feed, clothe, and house our children and ourselves.

2. The paid Secretary and Officials of the Wimbledon War Relief Committee are unable to distribute adequately.

3. No steps have been taken to stop libellous statements in the Press as to the moral conduct of the wives of men on active service, classing us with the few who, to supplement the insufficient pay, have "gone on the streets."

4. The British Military Authorities have been allowed to establish brothels in France for the use of our men there.

5. Women contracting a certain disease have been sent to prison with hard labour, while no action whatever has been taken with regard to men.

We therefore demand:—

(i.) Allowances for wives, widows, and mothers to be doubled, dating from July 1st, and each child put on an equal rate of 10s. per child.

(ii.) That each soldier and sailor in H.M. Forces receive 6s. per day.

(iii.) That an efficient Minister of Food be appointed and the recent increases in the prices of commodities annulled.

(iv.) That a definite system of three months' leave be instituted so that men on active service can visit their home, and thus prevent the country from being devoured by disease as must inevitably follow under present conditions, and that—

6. Equal treatment be extended to both men and women in cases of venereal disease.

Next week we shall publish an account of the deputation by one of the Wimbledon women. Miss Price reports that the women showed "splendid spirit and power to express themselves. At one time some of them were even talking between themselves of rushing into the House itself." But Members of Parliament do not yet take the matter seriously "it seems to be necessary to go in stronger force."

WHAT A SOLDIER'S WIFE THINKS OF IT.

On October 15th and 17th about two hundred soldiers' and sailors' wives and mothers from Wimbledon, Merton, and Raynes Park went on a deputation to the House of Commons, and were greeted with enthusiasm all the way by wounded Tommies, bus conductors, male and female, and police. We were all admitted to the outer lobby, and no doubt it seemed strange to those who are accustomed to the place to see little children running round and round the posts and throwing halfpennies on the stone floor to hear the pretty noise they made, while their mothers, with anxious and alert faces, enlisted the help of any and every member who came into the lobby.

Most if not all of us were new to the job but we fell into it wonderfully. We waited a long time for some of the members of Parliament, some were not present. Our own member, Sir Stuart Coates, did not come out and also Mr. Clynes. We were very anxious to see the latter gentleman and got round one or two good-natured Members to see what they could do to bring him out to us, with the result that Mr. Clynes is prepared to receive a "small" deputation early next week, if we will let him know the matter on which we wish to see him—as if there could be any question about it! We offered to go beyond the outer lobby to fetch reluctant Members, but were told this was not allowed. Such Members have only to stay in their castle to avoid answering awkward questions, and this is the House of representation for the country!

One gentleman said the dependents were getting quite sufficient to live on. He was promptly invited to take on the catering, but he didn't catch on. A woman with a baby in her arms showed him the shoes worn by the child, and he commenced looking around for a way of escape, and, finding none, exclaimed that he was not a Member, when he was allowed to take cover.

On both afternoons the Scotch Members looked after their people finely, and on Thursday afternoon I understand the women were taken to the Strangers' Gallery, where they heard their question discussed. Had we known the result we should have taken up our quarters in the House for the night as a protest against the inefficient and expensive method of administration adopted by the Government. The Relief Committees and the Civil Liabilities are expensive and inefficient, and with a very few exceptions it is the biggest liar not found out who gets the money. A fairer and better way would be for all

increases to be paid from the Paymaster's office, thus affecting a saving in rent, light, fire, postage, salaries, &c.

Mr. Barnes of the War Pensions Committee told our deputation that the childless wife must work, and we want to know where the men are who, at the beginning of this War, when the fathers, husbands, and brothers of the country were asked to defend the country from invasion by Germany, told our men: "There is no need to worry about your wives, children, and other dependents; we will see that they are cared for." This caring for amounted to a separation allowance of 16s. per week for a soldier's wife and 6s. a week for a sailor's wife. Since 1914 commodities have gone up to an alarming extent, some to 300 per cent (Coates's cotton at 5jd. a reel), but the allowance is still the same, and the women, are told to go out to work. This is rather different from being cared for and looked after, and if the Government think the matter is going to rest where they have left it they are greatly mistaken. The great majority of people in this country are affected, and by the help of the trade unions, we intend to force the Government to give justice to the fighting-men of Great Britain and their dependents. A Government with any sense of honour would not need to be forced.

Soldiers' and sailors' wives, mothers, and dependents unite!
CHRISTINE SHULVER.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS: THE AMERICAN METHOD.

STATEMENT BY THE WAR OFFICE, U.S.A.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 1st, 1918.

"Special provision has been made by which Objectors who are held to be sincere in their attitude may be furloughed, without pay from the Government, for agricultural service. These men must agree not to accept for their labour a greater sum than is paid to a private, plus subsistence. Conscientious objectors, though their number has been relatively small, have presented a problem to the department, and the present instructions are based upon several months of study....The selective service Act makes provision for the assignment to non-combatant Military Service of members of religious bodies opposed in principle to war. In certain instances the religion in question specifies that obedience to any Military Order, whether given by a Company Commander or by a Surgeon in hospital, involves a departure from the tenets of the religion, and in many cases, individual objectors state that the same conclusions prevents their acceptance of the alternative of non-combatant service afforded....For this reason, the new instructions have been drawn in such a way as to provide the greatest generosity of terms to the men whose sincerity is proved while keeping the strictest check against giving an opportunity to the slacker or malingerer."

ORDER ISSUED BY SECRETARY OF WAR

"....Men professing conscientious objections now in segregation in camps, or in posts....who, while themselves refusing to obey Military Instructions, on the ground that conscientious scruples, religious or otherwise, have given no other cause of criticism in their conduct, shall be transferred to Fort Leavenworth....(and) segregated, but not under arrest, pending further instructions....the Secretary of War, has constituted a Board of Inquiry, composed of two representatives from the Judge Advocate's Office....and Dean....of the Columbia Law School. It will be the duty of this Board to interrogate personally each man so transferred. Such men as may be determined by this Board to be sincere in their attitude and desirous of serving their country in any way within the limit of their conscientious scruples, may be furloughed by the Commanding Officer, Fort Leavenworth for agricultural service. Monthly reports as to the industry of each so furloughed should be received from disinterested sources....No person shall be recommended for such furlough who does not voluntarily agree that he shall receive for his labour an amount not greater than a private's pay, plus an estimated sum, for subsistence, if such be not provided by the employer..

PENDING THE FINAL DECISION IN EACH CASE.

"....If....any drafted man, upon his arrival in camp, either through the presentation of a certificate from his local Board, or by a written statement addressed by himself to the Commanding Officer, shall record himself as a C.O., he shall not against his will be required to wear a uniform, or to bear arms; nor, pending the final decision as to his status, if he shall decline to perform under Military Direction, of his conscience, shall he receive punitive treatment for such conduct."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

October 28th.—When asked by Colonel Wedgwood (L.) whether he was responsible for circulating the recent damaging documents about the Bolsheviks and their leaders, Lord R. Cecil said "Not that I know of." We must ask whether a man who is uncertain of what he is responsible for should hold an important position.

MR. LOCKHART.

Lord R. Cecil stated that he saw no urgency for Mr. Lockhart to hurry his report. Mr. King (L.) asked whether that was "because it would expose the mistakes and failures of the Foreign Office?" Is it not rather a fear that Mr. Lockhart may contradict the present stories about the Russian people?

TRADE UNION RULES.

Dr. Addison stated that the restoration of trade union rules was now being considered by the War Cabinet!!

NO REPRIEVE.

Mr. Bonar Law again confirmed his statement that political prisoners would not be released. Mr. King (L.) urged that nominees for Parliament were amongst them; but Mr. Bonar Law merely said that if "any one is kept in prison it will be for the safety of the country." It would be well to decide what the "safety of the country" means, and who is the judge!

HOUSING BILL.

As though the people objected to a good scheme of Housing, Mr. Fisher has decided to give it to them in small doses. The first instalment merely enables County Councils to raise loans for housing their employees, repayments to be extended over eighty years; further, should existing housing authorities neglect to build sufficient houses, the Local Government Board will have power to request the County Council to provide the housing necessary. Many speeches were made in disapproval of such pettifoggery. Mr. Runciman (L.) pointed out that the expenditure likely to be incurred is not large when compared with war expenditure. Housing must not be a question on which money is to be saved. It is most uneconomic to run up ramshackle dwellings, from the point of view both of wear and tear and that of health.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

October 29th.—Lord R. Cecil confessed that he has seen the Soviet Constitution.

INTERVENTION.

Mr. Bonar Law declined to answer Mr. King's (L.) question as to the course of the Allied intervention in Russia should peace be declared!

APPROPRIATING CIVILIANS' MONEY.

The Prince of Wales Fund was to help needy civilians. We now hear that the King's Fund, which is for discharged soldiers has been given £25,000 from the Prince of Wales Fund! Is there, then, no want amongst the civil population?

DEMOCRACY (?).

"The Government must, I think, be the interpreter of the views of the House and the nation in this matter." This was the reply of Mr. Bonar Law, when asked whether peace terms would be according to the wishes of the majority of the members of the House. Yet this is a member of the Government

which refuses to make peace except with the German people. Are the British people less capable than the Germans?

Sir G. Cave, in reply to Mr. King (L.) said that Mrs. Gonne McBride was to be released to where her health can receive special attention. Does he realise that no charge was ever made against her?

THE VICTIMS.

A long debate on the neglect of the prisoners of war was initiated by General Sir Ivor Phillips. He denounced the Government for leaving these men to their fate, as though it was their own fault that they were made prisoners. Captain Charles Craig, who himself had been a prisoner of war for two years, echoed this view. In his opinion the Government "did little or nothing" for the prisoners. Yet these men were more in need of help than those who were free and could help themselves. We heard and still hear much of "reprisals" and punishing those guilty of acts of cruelty. Can a Government guilty of neglect take any such action. We must repeat that war alone is guilty of atrocities, and that those responsible for the war therefore bear the onus of all the crime of war.

TEACHERS' PENSIONS.

The committee stage of the School Teachers' Bill was taken on October 28th and 29th. The scope of the Bill was extended to teachers in schools not given grants, provided they satisfy the conditions laid down by the Board of Education.

SOCIALISM AGAINST D.O.R.A.

October 30th.—Mr. King (L.) asked whether the Government has taken any decision to suppress the advocacy of Socialist opinions since Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was summoned for a speech advocating Socialism. But Sir G. Cave said that she was prosecuted for an offence under D.O.R.A.

The Committee stage of the Tithe Bill was taken.

NEGLECTED FOREIGN OFFICE.

October 31st.—The Foreign Office really seems to want the services of a good linguist! Mr. King (L.) asked whether the Foreign Office had seen Mr. René Marchand's letter to President Poincaré, which alleges that the Allies are fighting Bolshevism in Russia instead of the Germans; that the Soviet Government grows stronger by this foreign interference. Lord R. Cecil confessed ignorance of the letter. We feel sure a copy must have reached the Foreign Office in some language!

BELFAST ATROCITY.

Again questions were put about the cruel treatment of the Belfast political prisoners more than a hundred of whom are suffering from influenza. We wish the atrocity hunters would not extend their energies to foreign lands, before dealing with home affairs. No country guilty of treating C.O.s and Irish prisoners in the manner too well known to our readers, has the ghost of an argument against how the "enemy" treats enemy prisoners.

TREATMENT OF DEPENDANTS.

Separation allowances were the theme of the debate opened by Mr. Hogge (L.) His chief protest

was against the senseless clause, in the new increase of separation allowances, which grants 6s. 6d. extra to the wife unable or unaccustomed to work. This addition would mean 19s. per week instead of 12s. 6d. But the difficulty in securing this pittance lies in the definition of the right of the wife to this increase. Who is to be the judge, what inquiries are going to be made into the private life of the individual? As Mr. Hogge contended a flat-rate of £1 per week should be fixed for all wives regardless of conditions. But even when conditions and rules are satisfied, the victims are not to receive the increase until January 1st. Even then there is no certainty as to whether it will be on that very day. And all the while the cost of living rises; September prices showed an increase of 127 per cent on 1914 prices. The Government speakers tried to prove that the increases in allowances were equivalent to those in the cost of living. Even if they were, is there any excuse for bringing in a scale of increased allowances now, merely to stop the clamour of the public, and giving effect to those increases in three months time? The increases should be made retrospective, and not pushed far into the future when another increase will be necessary, if any benefit is to arise. Does the Government contemplate being able to avoid paying this increase? If so why do not the soldiers see to it that the praise of their deeds is not mere sentimental phrases, but concrete benefits to their families.

RUSSIA.

The protests made by Mr. Peto (U.) against the alleged bad treatment of British prisoners in Russia struck one as being absurd when seen in the light of the history of the War. These Britishers were imprisoned "without trial," he said; well, so were the Irish. They are being cruelly treated; is there not a similar tale to tell of Belfast prisoners? He protested that news not altogether of the shade he liked was being spread by a "People's Russian Information Bureau." Is there not an Information department in every European country singing the praises of Britain! This Bureau, he said, circulated extracts from papers, well surely that is a very modest way of doing propaganda. It does not venture to compete with the War Aims literature which is circulated by the ton and specially concocted by special writers. We think Mr. King (L.) drove the matter of cruelty home by reminding Mr. Peto and the House of the cruelties of the Czar régime. He said that the "Bolshevik terror" was "not so bad as the terror under the Czar." But Lord R. Cecil dwelt on the possibilities of invading Russia via the Black Sea and rescuing the Britishers in Moscow! Do those British subjects in Moscow want another war for their deliverance? We feel sure if they have any sense of the horrors of punitive war, they will protest. May they do so loud enough! Mrs. Litvinoff has offered herself and children as a hostage for the Bolsheviks' good faith. Mr. King told the House this extraordinary act of sacrifice of a British woman, for a people whom she believes to be right; but the Foreign Office again ignored this, as perhaps something which might make their case less objectionable to those calling for retaliation.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA.

Le Populaire, Sunday, October 27th, reports:—The Supreme Soviet of National Economy has taken steps to prevent the export of gold by the Czechoslovaks in their retreat from the Urals. It has confiscated all valuables belonging to the bourgeoisie who have emigrated from the Soviet republic.

The Supreme Council of National Economy has secured 7 to 800 million archines (an archine is about three-quarters of a yard) of materials valued at 2,500,000,000 roubles (2½ milliards).

At the end of August the Soviet Government had nationalised, in accordance with the law of July 28th, one thousand metal works and coal mines. At the end of September the rubber, electrical and sugar industries had been nationalised, in accordance with the same law. In the chemical industry only the large works as yet have been nationalised.

Owing to the intensive system of working and prevention of waste, in the coal mines in the Moscow region the threatened coal shortage in Russia has been averted.

The large accumulation of coal dust is now being utilised. In the cement works this coal dust is used in place of 20,000,000 pounds (1 pound is 36 lbs.) of fuel which used to be consumed there. Large works have been established for the manufacture of briquettes out of a mixture of coal dust and succedaneum of naphtha. These briquettes produce two and a half times more heat than ordinary coal and their transport is easier.

The Textile Centre, attached to the Supreme Council of National Economy, is establishing in all the agricultural counties its own depots for the direct exchange of textile goods for corn.

Schools of various types (primary schools as well as colleges) have been recently established along the whole Moscow—Kieff—Voronezh railway lines for the children of the railway workers. Instruction, classical books and fittings are provided free of charge. Boarders are taken in some of the schools. Orphans and destitute children are admitted free of charge. Great animation characterised the opening of the theatrical winter season in Moscow on September 15th.

THE MONARCHICAL AGITATION IN RUSSIA.

Populaire, Oct. 27th.

STOCKHOLM, Oct. 25th.—News has been received from the Ukraine of a monarchical movement of some magnitude which aims at the unification of Russia. The Monarchist Committee which directs this movement has a military section with the Generals Keller and Palitzine at its head. The "monarchist bloc" supports the Hetman Skoropadski (Information).

RUSSIAN WORKERS AND REACTION.

The rival Siberian Governments have now combined to form one government of which *The Times* says: "Several of the Siberian members were formerly associated with one or other of the Socialist parties, but practically all have recently swung round to the Right. Some members are non-political but the character of the Ministry as a whole is Conservative and it will be dubbed reactionary by the Socialists of the Left."

The Bolsheviks hold the confidence of the vast

mass of the people and there is abundant evidence that reaction is the only alternative to Bolshevism. *The Times* special correspondent at Omsk in a message of October 6th stated:—

"The Czechs are falling back in the Urals, via the Siberian Railway, while on the Ekaterinburg front they are only holding their own and are still woefully deficient in armament, munitions, and equipment. The Czechs, moreover, have suffered heavy losses and are worn out, and greatly need stiffening. The new Russian forces in Siberia are not regarded with complete confidence in informed quarters, and Bolshevik propaganda among them is active. The prisoner question is not so acute here as in Irkutsk, but remains, and numbers are being employed in civil occupations without guards, and have abundant opportunities to stimulate Bolshevik intrigues. Apparently for all purposes prisoner labour is regarded as superior to local, owing to the demoralisation of the workmen by high pay and Bolshevik ideas of working hours. Anything like a set-back in the Urals is calculated to stimulate Bolshevik activities in Siberia. The best guarantee against anything of the sort is the sight of the Allied flags and the presence of the Allied forces."

British workers should carefully consider these words: "prison labour superior" "owing to demoralisation of the workmen by high pay and Bolshevik ideas of working hours." Employers might prefer prisoners' labour to local labour in this country also! Consider also the statement that the best guarantee against Bolshevik activities is the presence of the Allied forces.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8th.

Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M. Miss Price.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9th.

Great Push in Tottenham for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All.—Meet at 3 P.M. at corner of High Road and West Green Road. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, Mr. Moscovitch, and others.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

"Salmon and Ball"—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th.

White Cross Street, City Road.—12.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16th.

Great Push in Poplar and Canning Town.

Indoor.

400, Old Ford Road.—4-7 P.M., Irish at Home (see Advert.)

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11th.

44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12th.

400, Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., Miss Price.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13th.

44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—7 P.M., Miss Horsfall, 'Life in an English Colliery Village in the Twentieth Century.'

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14th.

76, Whitechapel Road.—8 P.M., Mr. G. A. K. Luhan (C.C.L.), 'Freedom.' Chair: Mr. Moscovitch. Discussion.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15th.

400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Members' Meeting (London Section).

IRISH AT HOME

Sunday, November 10th.

400, Old Ford Road.—4-7 P.M., Short speeches by Miss Dorothy Matthews, Mrs. Metge, Mr. J. Connell (author of 'The Red Flag'), Mr. Fergus Carey, and others. Mrs. Walker in the chair. A musical programme will be provided by Mrs. Clara Cole, the Misses Freeman, Miss Nin Nevine, Miss Price, and others. Refreshments at popular prices. Collection.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—7 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Chair: Miss Horsfall.

COCKNEY FAIR.

The preparations for the Cockney Fair are going forward, but materials for making up, are urgently needed, blouse lengths, pieces for dressing jackets, &c., or any smaller odds and ends may be sent to Mrs. Fowler Shone, 104, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, S.W., who is forming a work party. Also old black cashmere stockings (footless) are needed by the Hon. Fair Secretary, Lydia Jewson, 54, St. Charles Square, Ladbroke Grove, W.; also clothing, materials to make-up, books, groceries, fancy goods, pottery, cakes and plum puddings, farm produce, flowers and plants, fruit and vegetables, toys, tobacco, &c.

MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Those whose subscriptions are in arrear should send them to their Branch Secretary, or to Miss Norah Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, if they are headquarters members. Every member who has not already done so should send the 1s. per annum to the headquarters fund the establishment of which was resolved on at the last annual Conference.

On Thursday we had a really delightful evening when Eva Gore-Booth gave a reading from her poems. Miss Gore-Booth found us insatiable for things Irish, especially for those exquisite verses commemorating Easter Week and the death of Roger Casement. It is good to know that in these days when Socialists like Silas Wegg have a knack of dropping into "poetry" that there is one real poet on our side.

On Thursday, November 14th, Sylvia Pankhurst is lecturing for the branch at Chandos Hall at 7.30 P.M. David Ramsay of the Workers Committee Movement will be in the chair and J. Ferguson of the Stepney Herald League will give a recitation. Tickets 6d. each may be had from 29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields or at the door.

IRISH PRISONERS.

MAUD GONNE MACBRIDE.

Mme. Gonne MacBride's friends are in great anxiety about her health. An eminent specialist, called in by her son, has given a most alarming report. She has been in prison now since May and is said to have developed tuberculosis. Germany has set free her political prisoners, is it not time for us to have an amnesty at all events for the untried? If that is too much to ask, surely the Empire would survive the shock, if one woman in consumption were to be set free to try that open air treatment that is impossible under prison conditions. Her husband was shot after the rebellion of 1916. Do the authorities really wish an internment order to work out as a death sentence?

The news has come of Mme. Gonne's release, but in a strangely qualified form. She is released temporarily, to be under the charge of Dr. Tunnicliffe at Miss Allen's Convalescent Home, 55, Welbeck Street. Mr. Sugan MacBride asking for the meaning of the word "temporary" was told by the official that she had to stay one week in the nursing-home, he could not say what would happen then.

Meanwhile out of the 111 political prisoners suffering from influenza in Belfast Jail, 12 of the very worst cases have been removed to the Mater Hospital. The condition in Belfast Jail will be familiar to readers of THE DREADNOUGHT. Two nurses who visited the prisoners spoke strongly of the insufficient covering and discomfort of the plank beds for the patients. In all 600 political arrests have been made in Ireland since last May. And *The Westminster Gazette* says that Mr. Healy's explanation of his reason for resigning in favour of a Sinn Féin appears to the plain British mind about as inadequate as it can be. What a wonderful thing it must be to have a plain British mind!

The newspapers are surprised that the loss of the Leinster has not stirred up those feelings of hatred and longing for vengeance in Ireland, that are so useful for recruiting purposes. Perhaps the reason of the lamentable absence among Irish people of these Christian virtues, is to be found in the fact that the Leinster was persistently refused an escort by the Powers that be. My last two journeys on the Leinster were in a way memorable. The first of these, in May, 1916, on the sad day of Connolly's death. How beautiful everything looked, and peaceful too, in the early morning coming into Dublin Bay, to the city of tears and lamentations and still smoking ruins, when that terrible act of atrocity had just been perpetrated. The next time was a contrast. The voyage home with a returning ex-

convict. How well I remember the kindness and friendliness of the crew, and the welcome of delightful stewardess friends. Thinking over these things, if one hates anything and is angry with anything it is with the idiotic brutality of war, and Empire, and the many atrocious deeds these evil dreams are responsible for; whether the murder of Connolly, or the sinking of the Leinster. That is, perhaps, not the frame of mind in which one would be likely to join up voluntarily.

The Irish Trade Union Party decided, at their Congress at the Dublin Mansion House, that the Internationale demanded deeds not Words. They protested against the presence of those who represented the interests of international capital, and who had tried to prevent the working classes of the world meeting at the time of the Peace Conference. And then they did the deed. They resolved by a majority of 99 to 10 to demand the withdrawal of the delegates of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. Mr. Dillon may take heart, he has surely no need to worry about the want of international sympathy and activity in the new Ireland he deplores. Sometimes one wonders if it only one's national vanity that makes one dream that, in that dim future when conscription and militarism are forgotten nightmares, and the world belongs to the workers, some International Socialist will write a special Irish chapter in his great book on 'The History of the Liberation of Humanity through the Struggles of Small Nationalities.' And will not that chapter be called 'How Ireland saved Europe'? This is no wild boast. Ireland is a small oppressed country, doubtless unimportant and negligible to the rulers of great empires, but she is holding the last pass against triumphant militarism. EVA GORE-BOOTH.

SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

L'Humanité, the organ of the Socialist Party has now resumed its socialistic activities. In a leading article, Marcel Cachin openly blames the seamen and Mr. Havelock Wilson for refusing to take Henderson and Huysmans to France, and accuses the seamen of acting according to instructions from other quarters!

Why should other quarters! instruct the seamen to do this or that? and on account of Henderson and Huysmans, too! If it were John McLean now I could understand!

Two thousand men and women are imprisoned in England for political offences. In France there are far more. *Le Populaire* and nearly all the Socialist publications have started a campaign for their release.

W. RUKAN.

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